103 824 35. Andung from andu̱h = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akŏ́m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engŏ́, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akŏ́ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asá̱m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angŏ́k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from du̱m = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdeẑi = roots, and tŭm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assöng from asŏ́n = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massŏng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassŏng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbai = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkŭ̄m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangŏng from ndăngŏ́n = clearing.

53. Ewŭŏle from eyŭŏ́le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkŏ́ = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akŏ́k = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from mažŏ́k = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from ẑŏ́k = elephant.

361 ●823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [887] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. 592 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and 64 lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] oku[š] a lude ma a lud: Oka[k] nkia
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (eba[s] e dzob "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

614 (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother;
[192] nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of
571 directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the
614 line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.

In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

nkukúm had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.

This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

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552 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
525 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
● 823 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
831 tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
602 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

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622 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a bian (mbian) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification.

[761 783]

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 803 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /creation/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

772 water; dim = to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
123 a star); dimi = to get lost; dip = to close; dibi = dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam = width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga = country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osôé Nnanga = white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[822] 1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used—zo'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow—or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp = sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dzô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ = post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female—the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
823 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar
[601] to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /creation/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone
[194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because
[114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at
801 the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known.
[802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI